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L. P. NOBLE, *Publisher.*

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 10, 1848.

SPEECH OF MR. CLINGMAN, OF NORTH CAROLINA, ON THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY.

(*Thirtieth Congress, first session. House of Representatives, December 22.*)

[CONTINUED.]

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

It is often asserted, however, Mr. Chairman, in declamation rather than in argument, that the Declaration of Independence proclaims all men to be free and equal; that that declaration has never been repealed; and that, being now in force, it should control the action of the Government. That declaration was made to dissolve the political bonds which connected us with Great Britain. Its validity for that purpose cannot be questioned, and the act as such is still in force. But the reasons which induced the Congress to take such a decisive step formed no part of the act itself. It might as well be insisted that the reasons given in the report of a committee recommending the passage of a bill formed a part of the law itself. The declaration, as made, was supported by a most able and eloquent popular appeal to the people of the colonies and to all the world. It was made in behalf of States, every one of which then held and continued to hold slaves. It never occurred to any one in that day, that the opinions and statements contained in the declaration became a part of any of the State Constitutions or of the United States. Even had it been otherwise, it has since been superseded by the Constitution of the United States; just as the old Articles of Confederation, which were once undoubtedly in force, by that act lost their validity, and cannot therefore, in any manner, now influence the action of Congress. As soon, however, as the people of the Territory have made a republican form of government for themselves, the Constitution takes the general legislative powers from Congress, and gives them to the new State.

REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

I am now brought, Mr. Chairman, to the consideration of a great question in our political system, What is a "republican form of government," such as the United States guaranties to every State in the Union? Eminent men, with whom I am accustomed to act on many questions, hold that it gives such a control over the form of the State Constitutions as I cannot sanction. On a former occasion, in this House, when opposition was made to the admission of Florida into the Union, on account of the pro-slavery character of her Constitution, I took occasion, when supporting her claims to admission, to express my dissent from those doctrines. Others have maintained that this feature of the Constitution was intended to exclude slavery entirely from the Territories and the States; while, with a third class, the term "republican" is understood to be synonymous with perfect equality, politically, of all persons whatever. What is a "republican form of government?" I know, Mr. Chairman, that there is indisposition on the part of some to go into such considerations. They are indifferent to everything that does not promise an immediate result. Many sneer at abstractions and contemn inquiries into the fundamental principles of government. If, sir, by remaining ignorant of the great principles which have regulated the rise, progress, and destruction of Governments and States, we could escape entirely the action of these principles, then, perhaps, "ignorance" would be "bliss." But no man escapes the action of the national laws by remaining ignorant of them. The force of gravity acts as violently upon the clown as it does upon the philosopher who understands its laws. The wind and the waves of the ocean strike with as much violence the rude craft, constructed and directed in profound ignorance of their forces, as they do the sides of the best built ship directed by those who are familiar with the stormy seas. If a man should sleep in his canoe in the stream immediately above the cataract of Niagara, he would not thereby suspend, as to himself, the action of that current. He who is selected to direct the motions of a steam-engine should be acquainted with its powers. The laws which control the courses of States and the action of Government are not less fixed and certain than those which operate in the physical world.

What, then, is a "republican form of government," that system which is to control the political destinies of the people of the American Union? Perhaps there are few terms in our language more difficult to define precisely. Mr. Madison, in the Federalist, admits as much. In Walker's and Johnson's dictionaries, the books of the kind perhaps in most common use among us, a "Republic" is defined to be "a State in which the power is lodged in more than one." In this definition they seem to follow Addison. Worcester, who has published the latest and most comprehensive dictionary, says: "A Republic may be either a democracy or an aristocracy. In the latter, it is vested in a nobility, or a privileged class of comparatively a small number of persons." This is substantially the same with Montesquieu's definition of a Republic, in his Spirit of Laws. Polybius, whom, notwithstanding the early times in which he lived, I regard as perhaps the most sagacious of political writers, considers a Republic as a mixture of the features of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, in equal proportions—so that any two of these powers or estates might, by their combination, be able to prevent the usurpation or abuses of the third. Such a Government, he thought, would, by its Executive, secure the *strength* of monarchy; by its Senate, the *steadiness* and *wisdom* of aristocracy; and by its democracy insure that its action would be directed to the promotion of the public good. He regarded the Roman Government of his day, then in its purest, healthiest, and most perfect condition, though it afterwards decayed and was destroyed in the manner pointed out and predicted by him—he, I say, looking on this Government with the disinterested eye of a stranger and a captive, pronounced it the most perfect Republic that had ever been known. I refer particularly to this Government, because the word "Republic" was a Roman word, invented to designate, and always applies to, that system. Not only did monarchical and aristocratic features predominate in its construction, but it sustained the system of domestic slavery in its most extensive form. During more than three hundred years, and the period of its greatest strength and prosperity, it was computed that the whole number of slaves was three times as great as the number of freemen. Athenius states that he knew many Romans who owned ten and twenty thousand slaves. A single *freedman*, in the reign of Augustus, had acquired, at the time of his death, above four thousand slaves.

If we come down to our own times, we find that these views of political writers were familiar to the minds of the framers of our Constitution, and constant topics of discussion in the Convention. Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, said: "The evils we experience flow from the excess of democracy. The people do not want virtue, but are the dupes of pretended patriots. In Massachusetts, it has been fully confirmed by experience that they are daily misled into the most baneful measures and opinions by the false reports circulated by designing men, and which no one on the spot can refute."

Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, observed, "that the general object was to provide a cure for the evils under which the United States labored; that, in tracing these evils to their origin, every man had found it in the turbulence and follies of democracy;" and argued in favor of a Senate, as a check to this tendency in their Governments.

Mr. Mason, his colleague, "argued strongly for an election of the larger branch by the people. It was to be the grand depository of the democratic principles of the Government."

Mr. Madison said: "No agrarian attempts have yet been made in this country; but symptoms of a levelling spirit, as we have understood, have sufficiently appeared in a certain quarter to give notice of the future danger. How is the danger to be guarded against on republican principles?" He argued that a Senate, elected for the term of nine years, would perhaps answer the purpose; and, in conclusion, declared "that, as it was more than probable that we were now digesting a plan which, in its operation, would decide forever the fate of republican government, we ought not only to provide every guard for liberty that its preservation could require, but be careful to supply the defects which our own experience had particularly pointed out."

Mr. Ellsworth, of Connecticut, said: "Massachusetts cannot keep the peace one hundred miles from her capital, and is now forming an army for its support. How long Pennsylvania may be free from a like situation cannot be foreseen." And, in reply to his colleague, (Mr. Sherman,) who spoke favorably of the condition of Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton, of New York, said that there, "of late, the Government had entirely given way to the people, and had in fact suspended many of its ordinary functions, in order to prevent those turbulent scenes which had appeared elsewhere." He asked Mr. Sherman whether the State at this time "dare impose and collect a tax on the people?" In the same speech, he said, "he concurred with Mr. Madison in thinking that we were now about to decide forever the fate of republican government," making references to the Roman and other republican Governments. And, on another occasion, he said, in debate, "They suppose seven years a sufficient period to give the Senator adequate firmness, from not considering the amazing violence and turbulence of the democratic spirit. When a great object of Government is pursued, which seizes the popular passions, they spread like wildfire, and become irresistible. He appealed to the gentlemen from New England, whether experience had not then verified the remark." After referring to many countries, he said: "What is the inference from all these observations? That we ought to go as far, in order to attain stability and permanency, as republican principles will admit. Let one branch of the Legislature hold their places for life, or at least during good behaviour; let the Executive also be for life."

It may seem a little singular, Mr. Chairman, that all reference in these debates to disturbances are in the sections of the Union having few or no slaves. I have not made the extracts, however, with any intention of showing this, but to make it appear in what sense the framers of the Constitution understood the meaning of "republican form of government." As the clause was originally adopted by the Convention, in Committee of the Whole, it stood thus:

"16. *Resolved,* That a republican Constitution and its *existing laws* ought to be guarantied to each State by the United States."

Why guaranty the *existing laws*, if twelve of the Constitutions, because they established slavery, were not "republican," and must of necessity be altered? Though the words "its existing laws" were ultimately left out of the clause, it was never intimated by any one that the then State Constitutions were not "republican" because they sustained slavery. Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, who said "that domestic slavery is the most prominent feature in the aristocratic countenance of the proposed Constitution," never pretended that it was not a *feature* of the Constitution of the United States itself; nor was there at that time a disposition manifested to place the black on an equal footing with the white race. The same Gouverneur Morris, in discussing the proposed basis of representation, said: "Another objection with him against admitting the blacks into the census was, that the people of Pennsylvania would revolt at the idea of being put on a footing with slaves." His colleague (Mr. Wilson) said: "He had some apprehensions, also, from the tendency of blending the blacks with the whites, to give disgust to the people of Pennsylvania, as had been intimated by his colleague, (Mr. Gouverneur Morris.") To show that similar feelings exist in the free States still, I might refer to the laws of Ohio excluding free negroes; to the extraordinary provision in the new Constitution of Illinois, to prevent free negroes from being admitted into the territory of that State; to the decision, the other day, of the State of Connecticut, by which the people determined, by a vote of four to one, that free blacks should not be allowed to vote. And, as I have alluded to that matter, I will say that I have no doubt but that the people decided that question aright. I may be told that no mischief has resulted in Massachusetts from permitting negroes to vote. And, sir, I have no doubt but that if, out of sympathy, all blind infants were allowed to vote, no political evil would have resulted, the number of either class being too small to disturb that prosperous Commonwealth. Nor is it sufficient for me to hear it said that this or that particular negro is as intelligent and as moral as the average of white voters. It is easy to find females far better qualified to think justly on political subjects than most men, and sometimes we find those among them not averse to the bustle of an election day. Many young men of eighteen and twenty years of age are better politicians than other adult voters. Why is it, then, that all females are excluded from the right to vote? Why is it that, even among the other half of the human race, men are excluded from the right of suffrage till they have attained an age which the majority never reach? It is no answer, in the latter instance, to say that all have an equal chance to attain the age of twenty-one. So all men may become as rich as Girard or Astor; and you might, on the same principle, fix the property qualification of a voter at a million. You cannot deny that many of the excluded are qualified to exercise the right; but they are excluded simply because Constitutions and laws decide upon general principles, and, as *classes*, females and infants under twenty-one are presumed not to be as well qualified to vote as adult males. It is this principle which excludes the negro, because, as a *class*, they are *inferior* to the white race.

INCIDENTAL CONSIDERATIONS RELATING TO RACE, &c.

But perhaps I shall be arraigned, in certain quarters, as charging injustice upon Providence, when I assert that he has not made the capacities of the different races equal. And, forsooth, am I, because men are of necessity scattered all over the earth, there not being room for all in the temperate zones, lest I should arraign the justice of Providence, to maintain that all parts of the earth have equal advantages of climate, soil, navigable streams, &c., and assert, against the evidence of my senses, that the climate of Siberia is as pleasant as that of Italy, and the peninsula of Arabia as fertile as the valley of the Mississippi? He who admits that one individual has naturally greater bodily or mental powers than another is guilty of the same sort of impiety. The Scripture itself teaches, that while ten talents are given to some, a single talent only is given to others. The difference in the races of men, as they have hitherto existed in the world, are so obvious as to have always arrested the attention of mankind. Whatever regret may be felt among any set of philanthropists, it cannot be denied that in the peninsula of India a population more than five times as great as that of the whole United States is easier kept in subjection by the superior courage, strength, and talent, of a few Englishmen. The African races have been preyed upon by every invader, from the earliest historic times—formerly by the Egyptians, the Carthaginians, the Romans, and the Saracens; in our own day by the English at the south and the French on the north. The American Indians afford another striking instance.

So great are the differences among races or nations of men, that they are observed readily by the most careless spectators, though they are often overlooked by legislators, in framing constitutions of government, so that incalculable mischief is produced. Political systems have in all ages been made, by wise men, for those whose capacity was not sufficient to sustain them, and the ruins of which have been productive of misery. The condition of the Spanish race on this continent affords to our eyes a mournful illustration of this.

The total failure of the emancipation of the negroes in the West Indies to answer the expectations raised by the great care with which the British Government effected the measure, is so striking an instance as to remind us of the benevolent attempt to change the color of the Moor, recorded in Æsop's fable. It was a profound observation of the most philosophic of human intellects, that we can only govern Nature by obeying her laws. The force of this truth is acknowledged with reference to the daily transactions of men. They seek to avail themselves of the natural laws, and in building houses and ships, and in the various mechanic arts, have a due regard to the qualities of the different substances they may employ, and their liability to be affected by different agents. In framing, however, social and political systems, the principle announced by Bacon is disregarded and contemned frequently by legislators, who will not understand that Providence has established moral laws as determinate as those which govern the physical world, and who are astonished, from time to time, because, when acting in defiance of those laws, they cannot find the same results as if their conduct had been in accordance with them. I maintain, then, Mr. Chairman, that the people of Connecticut, in deciding that the negroes are not, as a *class*, capable of administering our complicated republican system of Government, are sustained by the results of experience, observation, and sound philosophy.

I have, however, occupied more time on this part of my subject than I at first intended. My main object was to show what was meant by "republican form of government," in the Constitution; that it was not meant thereby to exclude slavery either from the States or Territories—much less did it mean that sort of absolute political equality, in all respects, which has never existed as yet in any one of the States. The Constitution of the United States was made by men who had come chiefly from the middle and western parts of Europe, and who felt themselves under no obligations to extend its advantages to the negro race.

If then, sir, I am right in the view I take of the meaning of the phrase, "Republican Constitution," Congress has no authority to object to the admission of any State, because she tolerates slavery. The attempt to exclude Missouri because her Constitution was like those of the old States, was a gross usurpation. Congress has the *power* to refuse the admission of a State for that reason, just as she has the *power* to object to admission because the State does not tolerate slavery; but she has in neither case *no right* under the Constitution.

SLAVE REPRESENTATION, SLAVE LABOR, &c.

Having thus, Mr Chairman, glanced at some of the constitutional questions which have been in public discussions connected with this subject, I will ask the indulgence of the House while I consider another class of topics. It is said by some, who object to the existence of slavery in the territories that may hereafter be acquired, that the representation of three-fifths of the slaves, as provided for in the Constitution, is wrong; that it gives the Southern States an undue advantage; and that, if new slave territories be added to the Union, it will increase the evil. Those who urge this objection, sir, would do well to recur sometimes to the circumstances under which that clause of the Constitution was adopted. In the debates of the Convention, Mr. Rufus King said he "had always expected that, as the Southern States are the richest, they would not league themselves with the Northern, unless some respect were paid to their superior wealth. If the latter expect those preferential distinctions in commerce, and other advantages which they will derive from the connection, they must not expect to receive them without allowing some advantages in return. Eleven of the thirteen States had agreed to consider slaves in the apportionment of taxation, and taxation and representation ought to go together." These preferential distinctions of commerce, and the other advantages anticipated by Mr. King, have been enjoyed by the North. Every candid man will admit that those powers of the Government have, for the last thirty years at least, been exercised to a greater extent than the men of that day seem to have regarded as practicable and desirable, and with even greater advantages to the North than they had anticipated. For one, sir, I do not complain of this; but I do say that it is with no very good grace that those who participate in and still claim these benefits, should harp so much upon what they gave in exchange. But, Mr. Chairman, this consideration has, in a practical point of view, nothing to do with the subject of slavery in the territories. If slavery should be permitted to exist there, since the act of Congress forbids the importation of slaves after the year 1808 from any other country, none could be carried there except those that were taken from some of the United States. But those slaves are already counted and represented. It is obvious, therefore, that, by transferring part of the slaves from the old States to the new, you would not increase their numbers. Being represented only in this House—the Senate, as all know, rests on a different basis—you would in no wise increase the slave representation by the addition of new slave States. Whatever was added to their population by emigration from the old States, would to the same extent weaken the latter.

This view of the case is so obvious, that, when I hear persons speaking of the "increase of slavery" and "strengthening the slave power," they must pardon me for questioning their sincerity. Nor can any one entertain serious apprehensions that the slave States will overpower the free, and control the action of the Government. The free States are in the ascendency in all the branches of the Government, and their majority of more than fifty votes on this floor and in the electoral colleges is greater than they ever had in former times. This excess must be increased, too, hereafter—nine-tenths of the territory in the Northwest being intended to be carved into free States, and being more than can be filled up for centuries to come, and those States increasing as they do faster in population than the slave States. This circumstance is sometimes referred to as evidence that the continuance of slavery is injurious to us as a nation. It may be remembered, however, that the view derived from the decennial census is well calculated to deceive. More than one hundred thousand foreigners annually arrive in the United States, who settle down almost entirely in the free States. Those who emigrate from the old Northern States almost all go to the new free States, while, on the other hand, a very large portion of the emigration of the old Southern States goes into the free States of the Northwest. This, as I have observed myself, is eminently true of the North Carolina emigrants; and I may add, too, but for this emigration, population would increase in that State as fast as it could in any country, there being an abundant supply of the necessaries of life among the entire population. Nor does the condition of the negro population retard its increase. The opinions of Malthus and other writers, that slavery is unfavorable to an increase of population, are probably founded on observations of such as live in cities, and are used as domesties. Appian's authority is decisive as to the rapid multiplication of slaves employed in the agricultural districts of the Roman empire. This accords with our experience in the United States. The physical wants of the slave are sure to be provided for, because he can never be owned by a pauper. It is due to truth, too, to state that the negro race in the Southern States, when considered with reference to their physical comforts, industry, and moral qualities, are in advance of the same race, either in Africa or in the Northern States. I am ready to admit, sir, that the Southern States would be more prosperous, as a whole, if filled up with such a population as the freemen of this Union. The white race being superior to the black, of course a country filled with the former is more vigorous and prosperous than one filled with a mixed race. That, however, is not the question to be settled. The abolitionist must show that these very negroes, if set free, would be more productive as laborers, and more manageable as citizens, than they now are. Before they can accomplish this, they must, however, account, in some satisfactory manner, for their inferior condition, not only in Africa, but where they have been liberated in the West Indies and in the Northern States. As we have the negro race in the country, and cannot get rid of them, the true question is, whether they can be better disposed of in any other mode. Whatever evils may be attendant on the condition of slavery, will be rather aggravated by crowding them together in a few States.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

For the National Era.

LETTER OF THEODORE PARKER, OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

[CONTINUED.]

DEBATES IN THE STATE CONVENTIONS.

When the several States came to adopt the Constitution, some hesitancy was shown at tolerating the slave trade, or even slavery itself. In the Massachusetts Convention, Mr. Neal would not "favor the making merchandise of the bodies of men." General Thompson exclaimed, "Shall it be said, that after we have established our own independence and freedom, we make slaves of others?" Washington has immortalized himself, "but he holds those in slavery who have as good a right to be free as he has." All parties deprecated the slave trade in most pointed terms. "Slavery was generally detested." It was thought that the new States could not claim the sad privilege of their parents; that the South itself would soon hate and abolish it. "Slavery is not smitten by an apoplexy," said Mr. Dawes, "yet it has received a mortal wound and will die of consumption." This reflection, with the "tobacco" and "navigation laws," turned the scale. Patrick Henry was no son of New England, but knew well on what hinges her political morality might turn, by what means, and which way.

In the New York Convention, Mr. Smith could "not see any rule by which slaves were to be included in the ratio of representation; the very operation of it was to give certain privileges to men who were so wicked as to keep slaves;" to which Mr. Hamilton replied, that "without this indulgence no union could possibly have been formed. But . . considering those peculiar advantages which we derived from them, [the Southern States,] it is entirely just that they should be gratified. The Southern States possess certain staples, tobacco, rice, indigo, &c., which must be capital objects in treaties of commerce with foreign nations; and the advantage . . . will be felt in all the States."

In the Pennsylvania Convention, Mr. Wilson considered that the Constitution laid the foundation for abolishing slavery out of this country, though the period was more distant than he could wish. Yet "the new States . . . will be under the control of Congress in this particular, and slavery will never be introduced amongst them;" "yet the lapse of a few years, and Congress will have power to exterminate slavery from within our borders."

In the Virginia Convention, Governor Randolph regarded the slave trade as "infamous" and "detestable." Slavery was one of our vulnerable points. "Are we not weakened by the population of those whom we hold in slavery?" he asked. Colonel Mason thought the trade "diabolical in itself and disgraceful to mankind." He would not admit the Southern States [Georgia and the Carolinas] into the Union, unless they agreed to the discontinuance of this disgraceful trade." Mr. Tyler thought "nothing could justify it." Patrick Henry, who contended for slavery, confessed "Slavery is detested—we feel its fatal effects, we deplore it with all the pity of humanity." "It would rejoice my very soul that every one of my fellow-beings was emancipated." Said Mr. Johnson, "Slavery has been the foundation of that impiety and dissipation which have been so much disseminated among our countrymen. If it were totally abolished, it would do much good."

In the North Carolina Convention it was found necessary to apologize for the pro-slavery character of the Constitution. Mr. Iredell, in defence, said, the matter of slavery "was regulated with great difficulty, and by a spirit of concession which it would not be prudent to disturb for a good many years." "It is probable that all the members reprobated this inhuman traffic [in slaves,] but those of South Carolina and Georgia would not consent to an immediate prohibition of it." "Were it practicable to put an end to the importation of slaves immediately, it would give him the greatest pleasure." "When the entire abolition of slavery takes place, it will be an event which must be pleasing to every generous mind and every friend of human nature." Mr. McDowall looked upon the slave trade "as a very objectionable part of the system." Mr. Goudy did not wish "to be represented with negroes."

In the South Carolina Convention, Gen. Pinckney admitted that the Carolinas and Georgia were so weak that they "could not form a union strong enough for the purpose of effectually protecting each other;" it was their policy, therefore, "to form a close union with the Eastern States, who are strong;" the Eastern States had been the greatest sufferers in the Revolution, they had "lost everything but their country and their freedom;" "we," the Carolinas and Georgia, "should let them, in some measure, partake of our prosperity." But the Union could come only from a compromise; "we have secured an unlimited importation of negroes for twenty years." We have obtained a right to recover our slaves, in whatever part of America they shall take refuge, which is a right we had not before." "We have made the best terms for the security of this species of property it was in our power to make; we would have made better if we could, but, on the whole, I do not think them bad. No one in South Carolina, it seems, thought slavery an evil.

Thus the Constitution was assented to, as "the result of accommodation," though containing clauses confessedly "founded on unjust principlee." The North had been false to its avowed convictions, and, in return, "higher tonnage duties were imposed on foreign than on American bottoms," and goods imported in American vessels "paid ton per cent. less duty than the same goods brought in those owned by foreigners." The "navigation laws" and the "tobacco" wrought after their kind; South Carolina and Georgia had their way. The North, said Gouverneur Morris, in the National Convention, for the "sacrifice of every principle of right, of every impulse of humanity," had this compensation, "to bind themselves to march their militia for the defence of the Southern States, for their defence against those very slaves of whom they complain. They must supply vessels and seamen in case of foreign attack. The Legislature will have indefinite power to tax them by excises and duties on imports."

Still, with many there lingered a vague belief that slavery would soon perish. In the first Congress, Mr. Jackson, of Georgia, admitted that "it was an evil habit." Mr. Gerry and Mr. Madison both thought that Congress had "the right to regulate this business," and, "if they see proper, to make a proposal to purchase all the slaves." But the most obvious time for ending the institution had passed by; the feeling of hostility to it grew weaker and weaker, as the nation became united, powerful, and rich; its "mortal wound" was fast getting healed.

II.

CONDITION AND TREATMENT OF SLAVES.

I will next consider the general condition and treatment of the slaves themselves. The slave is not, theoretically considered as a Person; he is only a Thing, as much so as an axe or a spade; accordingly, he is wholly subject to his master, and has no rights—which are an attribute of Persons only, not of Things. All that he enjoys, therefore, is but a Privilege. He may be damaged, but not wronged. However ill treated, he cannot, of himself, in his own name and right, bring a formal action in any court, no more than an axe or a spade, though his master may bring an action for damages. The slave cannot appear as a witness when a freeman is on trial. His master can beat, maim, mutilate, or mangle him, and the slave has, theoretically, no complete and legal redress—practically, no redress at all. The master may force him to marry, or forbid his marriage; can sell him away from wife and children. He can force the lover to beat his beloved, the husband his wife, the child his parent. "A slave is one who is in the power of his master, to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything but what must belong to his master." No contract between master and slave, however solemnly made and attested, is binding on the master. Is the free-born child of the freeman likewise theoretically subject to his father? Natural and instinctive affection prevent the abuse of that power. The connection between father and child is one of guardianship and reciprocal love—a mutual gain; that of master and slave is founded only on the interest of the owner; the gain is only on the master's side.

The relation of master and slave begins in violence; it must be sustained by violence—the systematic violence of general laws, or the irregular violence of individual caprice. There is no other mode of conquering and subjugating a man. Regarding the slave as a thing, "an instrument of husbandry," the master gives him the least, and takes the most that is possible. He takes all the result of the slave's toil, leaving only enough to keep him in a profitable working condition. His work is the most he can be made to do; his food, clothing, shelter, amusement, the least he can do with. "A Southern Planter," in his "Notes on Political Economy as applicable to the United States," says to his fellow slaveholders: "You own this labor, can regulate it, work it many or few hours in the day, accelerate it, stimulate it, control it, avoid turnouts and combinations, and pay no wages. You can dress it plainly, feed it coarsely and cheap, lodge it on simple forms, as the plantations do, house it in cabins costing little." "The slaves live without beds or houses worth so calling, or family cares, or luxuries, or parade, or show; have no relaxations, or whims, or frolics, or dissipations; instead of sun to sun in their hours, are worked from daylight till nine o'clock at night. Where the free man or laborer would require a hundred dollars a year for food and clothing alone, the slave can be supported for twenty dollars a year, and often is." "Let us bestow upon them the worst, the most unhealthy, and degrading sort of duties and labor." Said Mr. Jefferson, "the whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other."

The idea of slavery is to use a man as a thing, against his nature and in opposition to his interests. The consequences of such a principle it is impossible to escape; the results of this idea meet us at every step. Man is certainly not cruel by nature, even in the barbarous state. In our present civilization, man is far from being brutal. There are many kind and considerate slaveholders, whose aim is to make their slaves as comfortable and happy as it is possible, while they are slaves; men who feel and know that slavery is wrong, and would gladly be rid of it; who are not consistent with the idea of slavery. Let us suppose, in this argument, there are ten thousand such who are heads of families in the United States, and ninety thousand of a different stamp, men who have at least the average of human selfishness.

Now, under the mildest and most humane of masters, slavery commonly brings intensity of suffering. The slave feels that he is a Man, a Person, his own Person, born with all a man's unalienable rights; born with the right to life, to liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. He sees himself cut off from these rights, and that, too, amid the wealth, the refinement, and culture, of this country and this age. He feels his degradation, born a man, to be treated as a thing, bought and sold, beaten as a beast. Here and there is one with a feeble nature, with affections disproportionately strong, attached to an owner who never claimed all the legal authority of master—and this man may not desire his freedom. Some hear of the actual sufferings of the free blacks, or exaggerated reports thereof, and fear that by becoming free in America they might exchange a well-known evil for a greater or a worse. Others have become so debased by their condition, that the man is mainly silenced in their consciousness, the animal alone surviving, contented if well fed and not overworked—and they do not wish to be free. Suppose that these three classes, the feeble-minded, the timid, and the men overwhelmed and crushed by their condition, are as numerous as the humane portion of the masters, are one-tenth of the whole, or 300,000. The rest are conscious of the qualities of a man. They desire their freedom, and are kept in slavery only by external force—the systematic force of public law, the irregular force of private will. The number of this class will be about 2,700,000, a greater number than the whole population of the colonies in 1776.

The condition of the majority of the slaves is indeed terrible. They have no Rights, and are to be treated not as Men, but only as Things; this first principle involves continual violence and oppression, with all the subordinate particulars of their condition, which shall now be touched on as briefly as possible. A famous man said in public, that his "slaves were sleek and fat;" the best thing he could say in defence of his keeping men in bondage. But even this is not always true. Take the mass of slaves together, and an abundance of testimony compels the conviction, that they are miserably clad, and suffer bitterly from hunger. So far as food, clothing, and shelter, are concerned, the physical condition of the mass of field-slaves is far worse than that of condemned criminals in the worst prison of the United States. House-slaves and mechanics in large towns fare better; they are under the eye of the public. Farm-slaves feel most the poignant smart. The plantations are large, the dwellings distant, the ear of the public hears not the oppressor's violence. "The horse fattens on his master's eye," says the proverb; but the farm-slaves are committed mainly to overseers, the Swiss of slavery, whom Mr. Wirt calls "the most abject, degraded, and unprincipled race."

It is often said that the evils of Slavery are exaggerated. This is said by the masters. But the story of the victim, when told by his oppressor—it is well known what that is. The few slaves who can tell the story of their wrongs, show that Slavery cannot easily be represented as worse than it is. Imagination halts behind the fact. The lives of Moses Roper, of Lunsford Lane, of Moses Grundy, Frederick Douglas, and W. W. Brown, are before the public, and prove what could easily be learned from the advertisements of Southern newspapers, conjectured from the laws of the Southern States, or foretold outright from a knowledge of human nature itself—that the sufferings of three millions of slaves form a mass of misery which the imagination can never realize, till the eye is familiar with its terrible details. Governor Giles, of Virginia, calls Slavery "a punishment of the highest order." And Mr. Preston says, "Happiness is incompatible with Slavery."

In the most important of all relations, that of man and wife, neither law nor custom gives protection to the slave. Their connection may at any moment be dissolved by the master's command, the parties be torn asunder, separated forever, husband and wife, child and mother; the infant may be taken from its mother's breast, and sold away out of her sight and power; the wife torn from her husband's arms, forced to the lust of another—for the slave is no Person, but a Thing. For the chastity of the female, there is no defence; no more than for the chastity of sheep and swine. Many are ravished in tender years. So is the last, insult and outrage the most debasing, added to this race of Americans. By the laws of Louisiana, all children born of slaves are reckoned as "natural and illegitimate." Marriage is "prostitution;" sacred and permanent neither in the eyes of the churches nor the law. The female slave is wholly in her master's power. Mulattoes are more valuable than blacks. So, in the slave States, Lust now leagues with Cupidity, and now acts with singleness of aim. The South is full of mulattoes; its "best blood flows in the veins of the slaves"—masters owning children white as themselves. Girls, the children of mulattoes, are sold at great price, as food for private licentiousness, or public furniture in houses of ill-fame. Under the worst of the Roman Emperors, this outrage was forbidden, and the Prefect of the city gave such slaves their freedom.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

Unexpected Answers.—Not long since, the chaplain of one of the American State prisons, being engaged in preparing a table of crime, held the following dialogue with a prisoner: Chaplain. "Well, what brought you here?" Prisoner. "The sheriffs, sir." Chaplain. "But I want to know if liquor had anything to do with it?" Prisoner. "Oh! yes, sir. They were both drunk!"

GENERAL CASS AND THE WILMOT PROVISO.

The *Washington Union* publishes a correspondence between General Cass and several gentlemen, who, learning that he had lately communicated his opinions on the Wilmot Proviso to Mr. A. O. P. Nicholson, of Nashville, Tennessee, desire him to publish it in the *Union.* The General promptly assents. The Letter to Mr. Nicholson is dated December 24th, 1847, and we extract from it all that relates to the subject of slavery in the Proviso:

"The Wilmot Proviso has been before the country some time. It has been repeatedly discussed in Congress, and by the public press. I am strongly impressed with the opinion that a great change has been going on in the public mind upon this subject—in my own, as well as others; and that doubts are revolving themselves into convictions, that the principle it involves should be kept out of the National Legislature, and left to the people of the Confederacy in their respective local governments.

"The whole subject is a comprehensive one, and fruitful of important consequences. It would be ill-timed to discuss it here. I shall not assume that responsible task, but shall confine myself to such general views as are necessary to the fair exhibition of my opinions.

"We may well regret the existence of slavery in the Southern States, and wish they had been saved from its introduction. But there it is, and not by the act of the present generation; and we must deal with it as a great practical question, involving the most momentous consequences. We have neither the right nor the power to touch it where it exists; and if we had both, their exercise, by any means heretofore suggested, might lead to results which no wise man would willingly encounter, and which no good man could contemplate without anxiety.

"The theory of our Government presupposes that its various members have reserved to themselves the regulation of all subjects relating to what may be termed their internal police. They are sovereign within their boundaries, except in those cases where they have surrendered to the General Government a portion of their rights, in order to give effect to the objects of the Union, whether these concern foreign nations or the several States themselves. Local institutions, if I may so speak, whether they have reference to slavery, or to any other relations, domestic or public, are left to local authority, either original or derivative. Congress has no right to say that there shall be slavery in New York, or that there shall be no slavery in Georgia; nor is there any other human power, but the people of those States, respectively, which can exchange the relations existing therein; and they can say, if they will, We will have slavery in the former, and we will abolish it in the latter.

"In various respects the Territories differ from the States. Some of their rights are inchoate, and they do not possess the peculiar attributes of sovereignty. Their relation to the General Government is very imperfectly defined by the Constitution; and it will be found, upon examination, that, in that instrument, the only grant of power concerning them is conveyed in the phrase, "Congress shall have the power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States." Certainly this phraseology is very loose, if it were designed to include in the grant the whole power of legislation over persons as well as things. The expression, "the territory and other property," fairly construed, relates to the public lands, as such, to arsenals, dock yards, forts, ships, and all the various kinds of property which the United States may and must possess.

"But surely the simple authority to dispose of and regulate these, does not extend to the unlimited power of legislation; to the passage of all laws, in the most general acceptation of the word; which, by the by, is carefully excluded from the sentence. And, indeed, if this were so, it would render unnecessary another provision of the Constitution, which grants to Congress the power to legislate, with the consent of the States, respectively, over all places purchased for the "erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards," &c. These being the "property" of the United States, if the power to make "needful rules and regulations concerning" them includes the general power of legislation, then the grant of authority to regulate "the territory and other property of the United States" is unlimited, wherever subjects are found for its operation, and its exercise needed no auxiliary provision.

"If, on the other hand, it does not include such power of legislation over the "other property" of the United States, then it does not include it over their "territory;" for the same terms which grant the one grant the other. "Territory" is here classed with property, and treated as such; and the object was evidently to enable the General Government, as a property holder—which, from necessity, it must be—to manage, preserve, and "dispose of" such property as it might possess, and which authority is essential almost to its being. But the lives and persons of our citizens, with the vast variety of objects connected with them, cannot be controlled by an authority which is merely called into existence for the purpose of making rules and regulations for the disposition and management of property.

"Such, it appears to me, would be the construction put upon this provision of the Constitution, were this question now first presented for consideration, and not controlled by imperious circumstances. The original ordinance of the Congress of the Confederation, passed in 1787, and which was the only act upon this subject in force at the adoption of the Constitution, provided a complete frame of government for the country north of the Ohio, while in a territorial condition, and for its eventual admission in separate States into the Union. And the persuasion that this ordinance contained within itself all the necessary means of execution, probably prevented any direct reference to the subject in the Constitution, further than vesting in Congress the right to admit the States formed under it into the Union. However, circumstances arose which required legislation, as well over territory north of the Ohio, as over other territory, both within and without the original Union, ceded to the General Government; and, at various times, a more enlarged power has been exercised over the Territories—meaning thereby the different Territorial Governments—than is conveyed by the limited grant referred to.

"How far an existing necessity may have operated in producing this legislation, and thus extending, by rather a violent implication, powers not directly given, I know not. But certain it is, that the principle of interference should not be carried beyond the necessary implication which produces it. It should be limited to the creation of proper Governments for new countries, acquired or settled, and to the necessary provision for their eventual admission into the Union, leaving, in the mean time, to the people inhabiting them, to regulate their internal concerns in their own way. They are just as capable of doing so as the people of the States; and they can do so, at any rate, as soon as their political independence is recognised by admission into the Union.

"During this temporary condition, it is hardly expedient to call into exercise a doubtful and invidious authority, which questions the intelligence of a respectable portion of our citizens, and whose limitation, whatever it may be, will be rapidly approaching its termination—an authority which would give to Congress despotic powers, uncontrolled by the Constitution, over most important sections of our common country. For, if the relation of master and servant may be regulated or annihilated by its legislation, so may the relation of husband and wife, of parent and child, and of any other condition which our institutions and the habits of our society recognise. What would be thought, if Congress should undertake to prescribe the terms of marriage in New York, or to regulate the authority of parents over their children in Pennsylvania! And yet it would be as vain to seek one justifying the interference of the National Legislature, in the cases referred to, in the original States of the Union. I speak here of the inherent power of Congress, and do not touch the question of such contracts as may be formed with new States when admitted into the Confederacy.

"Of all the questions that can agitate us, those which are merely sectional in their character are the most dangerous, and the most to be deprecated. The warning voice of him who, from his character, and services, and virtue, had the best right to warn us, proclaimed to his countrymen, in his Farewell Address—that monument of wisdom for him, as I hope it will be of safety for them—how much we had to apprehend from measures peculiarly affecting geographical portions of our country. The grave circumstances in which we are placed make these words words of safety; for, I am satisfied, from all I have seen and heard here, that a successful attempt to engraft the principles of the Wilmot Proviso upon the legislation of this Government, and to apply them to new territory, should new territory be acquired, would seriously affect our tranquillity. I do not suffer myself to foresee or to foretell the consequences that would ensue; for I trust and believe there is good sense and good feeling enough in the country to avoid them, by avoiding all occasions which might lead to them.

"Briefly, then, I am opposed to the exercise of any jurisdiction by Congress over this matter; and I am in favor of leaving to the people of any territory which may be hereafter acquired, the right to regulate it for themselves, under the general principles of the Constitution. Because—

"1. I do not see in the Constitution any grant of the requisite power to Congress; and I am not disposed to extend a doubtful precedent beyond its necessity, (the establishment of Territorial Governments when needed,) leaving to the inhabitants all the rights compatible with the relations they bear to the Confederation.

"2. Because I believe this measure, if adopted, would weaken, if not impair, the union of the States; and would sow the seeds of future discord, which would grow up and ripen into an abundant harvest of calamity.

"3. Because I believe a general conviction that such a proposition would succeed, would lead to an immediate withholding of the supplies, and thus to a dishonorable termination of the war. I think no dispassionate observer at the seat of Government can doubt this result.

"4. If, however, in this I am under a misapprehension, I am under none in the practical operation of this restriction, if adopted by Congress, upon a treaty of peace making any acquisition of Mexican territory. Such a treaty would be rejected just as certainly as presented to the Senate. More than one-third of that body would vote against it, viewing such a principle as an exclusion of the citizens of the slaveholding States from a participation in the benefits acquired by the treasure and exertions of all, and which should be common to all. I am repeating, neither advancing nor defending these views. That branch of the subject does not lie in my way, and I shall not turn aside to seek it.

"In this aspect of the matter, the people of the United States must choose between this restriction and the extension of their territorial limits. They cannot have both; and which they will surrender must depend upon their representatives, first, and then, if these fail them, upon themselves.

"5. But, after all, it seems to be generally conceded, that this restriction, if carried into effect, could not operate upon any State to be formed from newly acquired territory. The well known attributes of sovereignty, recognised by us as belonging to the State Governments, would sweep before them any such barrier, and would leave the people to express and exert their will at pleasure. Is the object, then, of temporary exclusion, for so short a period as the duration of the Territorial Governments, worth the price at which it would be purchased; worth the discord it would engender, the trial to which it would expose our Union, and the evils that would be the certain consequence, let that trial result as it might?

"As to the course, which has been intimated, rather than proposed, of engrafting such a restriction upon any treaty of acquisition, I persuade myself it would find but little favor in any portion of this country. Such an arrangement would render Mexico a party, having a right to interfere in our internal institutions, in questions left by the Constitution to the State Governments, and would inflict a severe blow upon our fundamental principles. Few, indeed, I trust, there are among us, who would thus grant to a foreign Power the right to inquire into the Constitution and conduct of the sovereign States of this Union; and, if there are any, I am not among them, and never shall be. To the people of this country, under God, now and hereafter, are its destinies committed; and we want no foreign Power to interrogate us, treaty in hand, and to say, Why have you done this, or why have you left that undone? Our own dignity and the principles of national independence unite to repel such a proposition.

"But there is another important consideration, which ought not to be lost sight of, in the investigation of this subject. The question that presents itself is not a question of the increase, but of the diffusion of slavery. Whether its sphere be stationary or progressive, its amount will be the same. The rejection of this restriction will not add one to the class of servitude, nor will its adoption give freedom to a single being who is now placed therein. The same numbers will be spread over greater territory; and, so far as compression, with less abundance of the necessaries of life, is an evil, so far will that evil be mitigated by transporting slaves to a new country, and giving them a larger space to occupy.

"I say in the event of the extension of slavery over any new acquisition. But can it go there? This may well be doubted. All the descriptions which reach us of the condition of the Californias and of New Mexico, to the acquisition of which our efforts seem at present directed, unite in representing those countries as agricultural regions, similar in their products to our Middle States, and generally unfit for the production of the great staples, which can alone render slave labor valuable. If we are not grossly deceived—and it is difficult to conceive how we can be—the inhabitants of those regions, whether they depend upon their ploughs or their herds, cannot be slaveholders. Involuntary labor, requiring the investment of large capital, can only be profitable when employed in the production of a few favored articles, confined by nature to special districts, and paying larger returns than the usual agricultural products, spread over more considerable portions of the earth.

"In the able letter of Mr. Buchanan, upon this subject, not long since given to the public, he presents similar considerations with great force. 'Neither,' says the distinguished writer, 'the soil, the climate, nor the productions of California, south of 36 deg. 30 min., nor indeed of any portion of it, north or south, is adapted to slave labor; and, besides, every facility would be there afforded for the slave to escape from his master. Such property would be entirely insecure in any part of California. It is morally impossible, therefore, that a majority of the emigrants to that portion of the territory south of 36 deg. 30 min., which will be chiefly composed of our citizens, will ever re-establish slavery within its limits.

"'In regard to New Mexico, east of the Rio Grande, the question has already been settled by the admission of Texas into the Union.

"'Should we acquire territory beyond the Rio Grande, and east of the Rocky Mountains, it is still more impossible that a majority of the people would consent to re-establish slavery. They are themselves a colored population; and among them the negro does not belong socially to a degraded race.'

"With this last remark, Mr. Walker fully coincides, in his letter written in 1844, upon the annexation of Texas, and which everywhere produced so favorable an impression upon the public mind, as to have conduced very materially to the accomplishment of that great measure. 'Beyond the Del Norte,' says Mr. Walker, 'slavery will not pass; not only because it is forbidden by law, but because the colored race there preponderate in the ratio of ten to one over the whites; and holding, as they do, the Government and most of the offices in their possession, they will not permit the enslavement of any portion of the colored race, which makes and executes the laws of the country.'

"The question, it will be therefore seen, on examination, does not regard the exclusion of slavery from a region where it now exists, but a prohibition against its introduction, where it does not exist, and where, from the feelings of the inhabitants and the laws of nature, 'it is morally impossible,' as Mr. Buchanan says, 'that it can ever re-establish itself.'

"It augurs well for the permanence of our Confederation, that, during more than half a century, which has elapsed since the establishment of this Government, many serious questions, and some of the highest importance, have agitated the public mind, and more than once threatened the gravest consequences; but that they have all, in succession, passed away, leaving our institutions unscathed, and our country advancing in numbers, power, and wealth, and in all the other elements of national prosperity, with a rapidity unknown in ancient or in modern days.

"In times of political excitement, when difficult and delicate questions present themselves for solution, there is one ark of safety for us; and that is, an honest appeal to the fundamental principles of our Union, and a stern determination to abide their dictates. This course of proceeding has carried us in safety through many a trouble, and I trust will carry us safely through many more, should many more be destined to assail us. The Wilmot Proviso seeks to take from its legitimate tribunal a question of domestic policy, having no relation to the Union, as such, and to transfer it to another, created by the people for a special purpose, and foreign to the subject matter involved in this issue. By going back to our true

principles, we go back to the road of peace and safety. Leave to the people, who will be affected by this question, to adjust it upon their own responsibility, and and in their own manner, and we shall render another tribute to the original principles of our Government, and furnish another guarantee for its permanence and prosperity.

"I am, dear sir, respectfully, your obedient servant, "LEWIS CASS.

"A. O. P. NICHOLSON, Esq., *Nashville, Tenn.*"

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 13, 1848.

☞The address of our associate, J. G. WHITTIER, is Amesbury, Massachusetts.

AN APOLOGY.

We must again throw ourselves on the forbearance of our kind correspondents. Their favors are fully appreciated, nor would we check their free flow of thought. But they, in common with ourselves, must yield place, for a time, to important speeches and documents that cannot be postponed.

A poem entitled "Progression" is in type.

"Napoleon at the Death of Duroc," by Miss Alice Carey, appears this week.

Two poems by Miss Phœbe Carey, we regret, must lie over another week.

"A White Man's Dream," by Edward D. Howard, shall soon appear, as will also the following:

The Watch Night, by Mrs. Ellen Stone.

Three poems, by Theoderic, &c.

Beside these, we have many prose communications.

The letter from the Rev. J. G. Fee we shall find place for next week.

THE LAST NUMBER—ATTENTION!

This week is the close of the term of grace extended to our subscribers, on account of the extensive interruption to the mails, caused by the great freshet in the West. No subscriber who has not paid in advance will receive the paper till he shall have complied with the terms. To our old subscribers to the Philanthropist and Weekly Herald, who have been furnished at our risk, and who are yet delinquent, we would say, that we have assumed a heavier responsibility for them than we shall ever assume again for any subscribers, however we may value them.

CORRECTION.

Laboring under the double disadvantage of bad penmanship and inability to read the proofs of our articles, we doubtless tax somewhat the charity of our readers by errors of the press. In the notice of Sumner's "Fame and Glory," the sentence commencing "He counts it heretical and dangerous to act," &c., is entirely perverted from its intended meaning by the omission of the monosyllable *not*. In the same paper we run the risk of scandalizing two respectable Christian denominations, by classing a gifted Universalist minister with the Methodists. J. G. W.

THE WEEK.

Another week has passed, without the consummation of any important measure by Congress. The resolution in regard to the difficulty between the Postmaster General and Railroad Company, after having been amended, was lost without a count, on the question of engrossment. The Company, after having wasted the time of the House, has succeeded in nothing except in the demonstration that to its unreasonable demands the People are indebted for the serious interruption of the public service.

During the debate on this subject, the House became entangled with a question of order, which perplexed it for nearly two sessions. It had passed an order to terminate debate on the subject of mail transportation, in Committee of the Whole, at half past two o'clock. The hour having arrived, the member who had reported the resolution in regard to mail transportation claimed the right, under the new rule adopted by the House, to close the debate. The Chairman assented to the claim, but objection was made, and the question was raised, whether, an order having been passed to close debate at a certain hour, the new rule authorized the member reporting the subject matter of it, to speak his hour after that period. After a protracted discussion, the decision of the Chairman was sustained; from which it seems, that though the House may order debate on a subject to close at a certain hour, the rule is so construed as to override the order, the member reporting the bill or resolution being entitled to *continue* the debate one hour longer!

The question of the reference of the President's message is not yet disposed of in the House. Members seem disposed to avail themselves of it to make the customary speeches for Buncombe. Among others, Mr. McClernand, of Illinois, delivered himself of a speech, adorned with quotations from Paradise Lost and the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, which was a general vindication, to use his own language, "of the model President—the man who has conducted one of the most brilliant wars of any age."

The Senate is the scene of highest interest. It would seem as if the Ten Regiment Bill were to be made the battle ground of opposing opinions in that body. Mr. Hale, who led off in opposition not only to the war, but the entire policy of war supplies, has been followed by Mr. Johnson, of Maryland, who, in the first half of his speech, delivered last Monday, arrived at the broad conclusion that Mexico was responsible for every drop of blood shed in this war; and in the second half, reached the conclusion that the dread responsibility of the blood shed in this war rested upon the President of the United States. He argued that the war existed by the act of Mexico; he then argued that it existed by the act of the President, and that there would probably have been no war, had it not been for his rash, ill-advised, unconstitutional conduct. He maintained both these contradictory positions with so much spirit and energy, that we almost supposed he had convinced himself entirely of the truth of both of them.

Our readers will not overlook the speech of Mr. Hale, the report of which we take from *Houston's Debates*. We happen to know that it was delivered almost on the spur of the moment, there being an evident purpose on the part of the majority to push the bill through the Senate with as little discussion as possible. Mr. Hale, we doubt not, would have been glad, had time been allowed for some preparation. But the speech commanded much attention. It was delivered with earnestness and boldness. Its exposure of the real source of our present difficulties, its fearless allusions to the question of slavery, the manly consistency of the avowed policy of the speaker with his principles, his eloquent appeals, not often heard in the Senate, to the paramount obligations of Truth and Justice and Freedom, will not be lost upon the People. The speech has secured him a position in the Senate which must command respect, though it may insulate him politically from the rest of the members.

SUMMARY OF THE NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Crowded by speeches and letters, we must present but a brief summary of the news of the week.

MEXICO AND TEXAS.—The Matamoros Flag says that Mexicans are removing to Texas to save themselves from the attacks of the guerilleros.

The amount of taxable property in Texas was $43,747,175, in 1846. The amount this year thus far, several counties having yet made no return, is, $45,594,655. The whole amount of the taxes will be about $119,000. The estimated debt of the late Republic of Texas, so far as ascertained and acknowledged by the present Government, is eleven million, fifty thousand dollars.

General Lane had a slight brush with the Mexicans at a place called Matamoros, on the 27th of November, and whipped them. General Patterson arrived in the city of Mexico, on the 6th ultimo, with 3,500 men. On the arrival of General Butler, one division was to march on San Luis Potosi, to open communication with Tampico, the other was to be sent to Zacatecas. The guerilleros are held in check, but not annihilated. Lieutenant O'Sullivan, promoted for his gallantry at Palo Alto, has become a deserter, and now holds an appointment in the Mexican army. The Council of Governors at Queretaro has broken up, without coming to any conclusion except to sustain the General Government in meeting all necessary expenditures.

A decree has been issued by the Government, that no elections shall be held in any part of the Republic occupied by the Americans.

The American paper in Mexico lately contained a call for a public meeting of the officers of the American army, citizens attached thereto, Mexican citizens, foreigners, &c., to be held in the Senate Chamber in the Palace, for the purpose of consultation on the subject of taking stock in a contemplated railroad between Mexico and Vera Cruz. "Many of the citizens of the United States," it says, "having determined to occupy the territory of Mexico, it is expected that the spirit of internal improvements, hitherto unknown to this country, will be called forth." Is this bravado?

The special correspondent of the New Orleans Picayune, writing from Mexico, December 14th, says, that Senors Cuevas, Atristain, and Carcto, commissioners appointed to treat for peace, had arrived in Mexico, but seemed afraid to leave for Washington, so long as Santa Anna remained in the country—and that Mr. Trist appeared to have no power to negotiate with them.

General Cushing arrived in Mexico on the 8th, with the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania regiments, and brought news that General Butler was on his way with 8,000 men.

General Pierce accompanied General Twiggs to Vera Cruz, and, it is said, intends to resign his commission and retire to private life.

BALTIMORE AND SUSQUEHANNA RAILROAD.—Report made for the year ending September 30, 1847. Gross receipts from transportation of passengers and freight between Baltimore and Columbia, $256,913.58, showing an increase over last year, of $46,278.39. Number of passengers between Baltimore and York, 92,686—increase since last year, 29,856.

GOVERNOR THOMAS, of Maryland, in his inaugural address, alludes to the Mexican war, praises the efficiency of the Administration, denounces the Wilmot Proviso as a nefarious crusade against the rights of the South, and declares that the question is one which admits of neither compromise nor conciliation—and so the Legislature of Maryland ought to affirm.

FOREIGN NEWS.—The steamer Caledonia arrived at Boston in the night of the 4th, with fifteen days' later intelligence from Europe, bringing dates from Liverpool to the 18th.

Parliament had been engaged in a long and very able debate on the recent commercial crisis, and the measure of the Government, recommending to the Bank directors a temporary infringement of the conditions on which they held their charter. The weight of talent was in favor of the principle of Peel's bill of 1844. The debate was closed by the adoption of a resolution for a Committee of Inquiry, submitted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Irish Coercion Bill has passed the House of Commons by a vote of 173 to 14. It was hotly opposed by John O'Connell and Mr. O'Connor. Mr. Sherman Crawford, himself an extensive land-owner in Ireland, expressed the opinion that the bill, instead of putting down crime, would aggravate it. The rights of landlords, in Ireland, he said, were rights of robbery, instead of justice, rights that law ought not to support.

The Duke of Wellington has all at once awaked to the alarming defencelessness of England. She has no militia, only 10,000 or 12,000 regulars, and her fortifications are feeble. One of these mornings she might open her eyes to find herself shorn of her locks, and in the hands of the Philistines. The subject of national defences would soon be taken up, and probably involve in its discussion a consideration of the immense annual expenditures of England on her army and navy.

The mortality in the metropolis has been terrible.

"The money market has not materially changed since our last circular, but has continued to improve, while the curtailment of business operations has lessened the demands for discounts of commercial paper, so that bills of the first class are readily cashed at 6 to 7 per cent.; but there have been farther commercial failures, and the continued fall in the value of produce to an extent so ruinous, particularly of colonial produce, and the difficulty of realizing so great that the utmost distrust and gloom still prevails in our market very generally.

"Cotton has farther declined ⅛ a ¼d. per pound, and we have to quote fair Upland and Mobile, 4¾d., and fair New Orleans 5d. Middling 4⅛d. a 4⅜d., and ordinary 3d. to 3¾d. per pound. The sales for the week ending the 10th instant, were 21,900 bales, and for that ending this evening they have been 21,600 bales. Of the latter, 4,860 were Upland at 3¾d. a 5d.; 7,650 Orleans, at 3⅜d. a 5⅝d.; 3,550 Alabama and Mobile at 4d. a 4¾d., and 350 Sea Island, at 7½d. a 18d. per pound. There has not been a transaction for speculation for the last fortnight, and only about 1,200 bales for export.

"The Government has intimated that the act of Parliament suspending the operation of the corn laws, and which expires on the 1st of March next, will not be farther renewed, consequently, on and after the 1st of March. Wheat and flour will be subject to duty under the sliding scale, the minimum being 4s., and the maximum 10s., per quarter, until the law itself expires on the 1st of February, 1849.

"The last general average of wheat is 53s. 2d. per quarter, so that, if prices remain about as they now are, the duty on wheat will be 4s. per quarter, and the duty on flour 2s. 4⅞d. per barrel; but it will be remembered, that for each shilling decline in the average below 53s., the duty is advanced a shilling until it reaches 10s. per quarter, that being the duty on wheat when the average falls 48s.

"Indian corn, now free, will, on the 1st of March, be subject to a small duty of 1s. per quarter, and Indian corn meal, 6d. per cwt.

"Wheat and flour are rather higher since the 4th instant, and fresh Western canal flour is saleable at 29s. a 30s., and Philadelphia and Baltimore, 28s. a 28s. 6d. per barrel. Sour flour has advanced to 23s. 6d. a 25s.

"In Indian corn there is no material change. The best American brings 35s. per quarter, but the chief business is in middling qualities, at 32s. a 34s. per quarter.

"Indian corn meal 15s. a 15s. 6d. per barrel. The last sale of turpentine was at 6s. for fair quality, and of American rosin at 2s. 2d. a 2s. 3d. per cwt.

"Within the last fortnight or three weeks the British Islands have been visited by a succession of tremendous gales, causing the most appalling loss of life and property on the coast. Several vessels have been wrecked, either with the whole or a considerable portion of their crews. Among other ships from this port that have shared in the casualties, is the Falklands, for Callao, whose master and twenty of the hands were drowned.

"The turmoil in Switzerland is brought to a final close. The Diet has decreed that the seven revolted Cantons of the League are to be held accountable for the expenses of the war, and to be occupied by the Federal troops until the amount is paid.

"Lord Palmerston has denied that Lord Minto was charged with any diplomatic mission to the Court of Rome. The celebrated Father Thomas Maguire, the Roman Catholic divine and controversialist, died week before last, in Ireland."

NEW YORK.—The Legislature met on Tuesday. Hon. Hamilton Fish, Lieutenant Governor, took the chair in the Senate, Andrew H. Calhoun was chosen Clerk. In the House, Amos K. Hadley, of Rensselaer, was chosen Speaker; Philander P. Prindle, of Chenango, Clerk; Samuel P. Marks, of Columbia, Sergeant at Arms. These officers are all Whigs.

PENNSYLVANIA.—The Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania commenced its annual session at Harrisburg on the 4th instant.

In the House of Representatives, William F. Packer (Dem.) was elected Speaker, the Whigs supporting George Ladley. The vote was 63 to 33, and two scattering.

In the Senate, where the Whigs have a majority, William Williamson, (Whig,) was re-elected President.

MASSACHUSETTS.—The Legislature of Massachusetts met January 5th. The Senate was organized by the election of the Hon. Zeno Scudder, for President, and Charles Calhoun, Clerk.

In the House, F. B. Crowninshield, was elected Speaker, after three ballotings, and Charles W. Story, Clerk.

LETTER OF GENERAL CASS.

We publish, on our first page, the views of Gen. Cass on the subject of slavery-extension. He is strongly impressed with the opinion that a great change has been going on in the public mind, and in his own, upon this subject. The General may speak for himself, but he should remember that he looks at the public mind through his own glasses. We hope he may live to learn that even the impressions of so disinterested a mind as his own are not always trustworthy. His Northern friends will rejoice to see that he has not entirely fallen from grace; that even he thinks it at least possible to regret the existence of slavery in our Southern States. But, is he not rash in betraying such a sentiment? Is it not rather presumptuous to venture upon so hazardous an expression of opinion? If an American statesman, owing to the prejudices of education, feel some weak regrets at the prevalence of negro slavery, is it not the part of wisdom to conceal them from the public eye? Why so daring, why so reckless of his own good and the harmony of the Republic, as to indicate even the possibility that he may entertain sentiments so greatly behind the times?

The General may be a most adroit military tactician, but his views as a statesman are sometimes foggy. He holds that the present generation is totally exempt from all responsibility for the continuance of slavery, because, as he says, "there it is, and not by the act of the present generation." Such a plea, if valid in this case, is valid against the policy of removing or reforming any evil system bequeathed to the world by the Past. The fraudulent union between England and Ireland was the work of a former generation. "There it is," says the enemy of Repeal, "and not by the act of the present generation." The answer is obvious: "There it is, and not by the act of the present generation, but by its ratification of the act of past generations." As the People in this country are the source of political power, they are responsible always for political evils.

"But," says the General, "we have neither the right nor the power to touch it where it exists." Who have not? the people of the South? Have not the People of Virginia the right to touch slavery in Virginia? Have not we, the People, the right to touch slavery in any *territory* where it exists by our sanction?

Gen. Cass devotes much space to the discussion of the power of Congress over territory belonging to the United States. His manifest object is, to clear the way for the introduction of slavery into any such territory. No one who reads the letter can doubt this. The calculations of politicians have been greatly disturbed by the question of slavery in its present form. So long as the matter in controversy related to slavery as it exists in the States, it was easy to prevent any serious division of sentiment in either the Whig or Democratic party; as the great majority of the people in all sections of the Union agreed that the General Government had no power to abolish it in the States. But the body of the People in the free States were just as settled in the belief that the General Government had no power to extend slavery, while it had authority to prevent its introduction into any territory of the United States. The Wilmot Proviso was but the embodiment of this fixed belief, and was brought forward in Congress, simply because the leading politicians among the slaveholders demonstrated their purpose to use the power of the General Government for the extension of slavery. By them was this question raised, by them, forced into politics. No alternative was presented to the non-slaveholders of the country, but political resistance, or political subjection to this policy. Necessarily it became a question in State and Federal politics, in the election of Representatives, and in the Presidential question. Had the People been let alone to follow out their own honest convictions, it would have soon been decided. But there were politicians in the market, and a strong proslavery Administration with patronage enough to buy them. There were ambitious aspirants for the Presidency, and a powerful Slave Interest standing ready to throw its weight in favor of him who would bid most for its favor. The former were corrupted, the latter have been intimidated; and both—for man, whatever his purpose, pays tribute to virtue by pleading always commendable motives—have devoted themselves assiduously for the last twelve months to attempts to mystify the public mind, and delude it into a creed in harmony with their own sinister policy; in other words, to make the People believe that the General Government is as powerless to prevent the extension of slavery as to secure its abolition; because, could this point be gained, the whole question would be as effectually withdrawn from politics as the question of the abolition of slavery, and demagogues and Presidential aspirants once more might breathe freely, acquiescing without let or hinderance in every demand made in behalf of Slavery.

Need we refer to particular instances? Have we forgotten the sudden, inexplicable change in the vote of the House of Representatives last year on this subject, and the bestowment of patronage which followed? Need we point to the officeholders' demonstrations, the action of postmasters at important points, the course of newspapers favored with the public printing in the free States? Shall we again call to mind the cry of "No More Territory" started among the Whigs, the Compromise of Buchanan, the Hollidaysburg speech of Mr. Dallas, the refusal of the Whig State Committee of even Massachusetts to make the question of Slavery-extension a test in the Presidential canvass? All these things are now known and read of all men, just as clearly as the letter of Gen. Cass, on which we are commenting. "What have we to do with thee?" cried the possessed of devils, eighteen centuries ago—"Hast thou come hither to torment us before the time?" Many of our modern politicians seem to be equally desirous of staving off the requirements of Truth.

But to return to Gen. Cass. He adopts, from an able article published in the National Intelligencer, and which we shall copy next week, the doctrine that the Constitution confers no specific grant of power authorizing Congress to establish Territorial Governments; that the only grant of power is, to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property of the United States; that the power to institute a Government is therefore implied, and, like all implied powers, must be exercised in such measures only as are necessary to effectuate the objects intended by the specific grant. The writer in the Intelligencer, with a precision of logic characteristic of a mature mind, from these premises, infers all want of power in Congress to institute slavery. Gen. Cass, from the same premises, infers that Congress has no right to prevent its institution. How it is to be introduced and legalized in free territory, he does not clearly explain. But, from his somewhat confused reasoning, we infer that he claims for the People of a Territory power to legislate upon their own internal concerns, independently of all control or supervision by the General Government. Without this assumption, his whole argument would be totally inconclusive; for, the doctrine he adopts in regard to the power of Congress over territory, of itself, merely excludes the supposition that that body can institute slavery. He then stretches it so as to strip Congress of power to abolish slavery in Territories. But, this still not accomplishing the object—which is the introduction and legalization of slavery in free territory—he boldly assumes that the people of such territory have a right to legislate for themselves, upon their internal concerns, independently of all control by Congress.

To such absurdities are men driven in their attempts to preserve party harmony, conciliate slaveholders, and secure their own political elevation. We will not now trespass upon the patience of the intelligent reader by an argument in refutation of this assumption. It is but an assumption. Not a single reason can be produced in its support, but that Slavery demands it. It is an assumption at war with the entire course of policy of the General Government in regard to United States territory. It is an assumption that can never be permitted to regulate legislation, without resulting in perplexities and absurdities inconceivable.

Next week we may revert to this subject again.

SPEECH OF MR. CALHOUN.

The speech of Mr. Calhoun, delivered in the Senate, January 4th, was a clear, concise, strong, exhibition of his opposition to the war; of his plan for conducting it; and of his views in relation to the subjection and incorporation of Mexico.

With those parts of the speech in which he dwelt upon the calamities of war, its destructive influences on our republican institutions, the baleful consequences of conquest, the worthlessness of military glory compared with national integrity and honor, and the repugnance of the present war policy of the Democratic party to all its great principles respecting internal policy, we entirely sympathize. On all these points he expressed sentiments just, generous, and high-toned. But other matters were incidentally introduced, of a very different character. Devotion to a system of oppression, and a habit of rash generalization, are continually marring the great intellectual performances of this gentleman; although this would be comparatively a light evil, had not his extended political influence been perverted by these causes. Of late years, it would seem impossible for him to appear before the public without obtruding the most offensive features of his creed in relation to the different races of mankind, and the subjugation of the inferior by the superior.

In the speech above referred to, occurs the following passages:

"I know farther, sir, that we have never dreamt of incorporating into our Union any but the Caucasian race—the free white race. To incorporate Mexico, would be the very first instance of the kind of incorporating an Indian race, for more than half of the Mexicans are Indians, and the other is composed chiefly of mixed tribes. I protest against such a union as that! Ours, sir, is the Government of the white man. The greatest misfortunes of Spanish America are to be traced to the fatal error of placing these colored races on an equality with the white race. That error destroyed the social arrangement which formed the basis of society. The Portuguese and ourselves have escaped—the Portuguese, at least, to some extent—and we are the only people on this continent which have made revolutions without being followed by anarchy. And yet it is professed and talked about to erect these Mexicans into a Territorial Government, and place them on an equality with the People of the United States. I protest utterly against such a project.

"Sir, it is a remarkable fact, that in the whole history of man, as far as my knowledge extends, there is no instance whatever of any civilized colored races being found equal to the establishment of free popular government, although by far the largest portion of the human family is composed of these races. And even in the savage state, we scarcely find them anywhere with such government, except it be our noble savages—for noble I will call them. They for the most part had free institutions, but they are easily sustained amongst a savage people. Are we to overlook this fact? Are we to associate with ourselves, as equals, companions, and fellow-citizens, the Indians and mixed race of Mexico? Sir, I should consider such a thing as fatal to our institutions."

This is very specious; but analyze it. What is the assumption in the first paragraph? That the order maintained in this country and Brazil, after the revolution in each, is the result of perpetuating the slavery of the colored race; and that the disorder which has followed the revolutions in the rest of the American States is the result of emancipating the colored race. This is the theory of an American statesman, stripped of the thin veil thrown over it by the trickery of words—a theory shamelessly proclaimed in the Senate of the "Model Republic," which was founded upon the doctrine that all men are created with the unalienable right of liberty!

But what is the force of this assumption? Will Mr. Calhoun stake his reputation on the dogma that human slavery has been the grand element of the stability and good order of this Republic? Had the origin, the religious principles, the intelligence, the familiarity with self-government, the general education of our fathers, nothing to do with the stability of the Government they formed? Was the example of England, the peculiar form of its political system, throwing the weight of self-government upon boroughs, counties, &c., nothing? Is our maturity of civilization, with the peculiarly favorable physical conditions of the country, and our original habits of industry and well-doing, nothing? Has the peculiar distribution of political power, under a Federative Government, with State Governments; has our Constitution, a work of wisdom, as Mr. Calhoun terms it, far beyond the wisdom of its founders, being the result of peculiar circumstances,—have these causes had nothing to do with our exemption from anarchy? Must we pass over all these obvious, ever and everywhere working, all-powerful elements of national well-being, and find in the negro slavery of one part of the Union, which is almost ruined by it, the sole foundation of the power and grandeur of the whole?

As for Brazil, it has maintained slavery and maintained order. What else? What indication of progress has it shown? What is the value of its civilization? What are its contributions to Humanity? Is order the highest good? When its foundations are laid in a Law that protects Liberty, and in popular reverence for that Law, it is a priceless good; but when it is the result of the subversion of the liberties of the masses, and their enforced subjection to Despotism, it is the crime and curse of Humanity. Besides, the comparative exemption from anarchy enjoyed by Brazil is not the effect of negro slavery so much as the legitimate product of the imperial form of Government, by which the masses are in fact excluded from even aspirations for political consequence.

One more remark on this assumption. There is a want of philosophy in generalizing so dogmatically from facts so limited in variety and duration. The data are incomplete. Brazil has not been in existence as an independent Power for a period long enough to determine the workings of her institutions. Scarcely has this Union: much less have the other States of this continent. They are torn by anarchy, it is true, but how many years since they emancipated themselves, and attempted the arduous task of self-government? Hardly more than a quarter of a century. More than ten centuries have passed since the breaking up of the Roman empire, and has the old world yet rested from its struggles in its progress towards government by the masses? What is France but a pent-up volcano? Germany is a mass where the people are heaving heavily against Despotism. Spain is simply an organized anarchy, if the phrase may be allowed. Has Society in any part of Europe yet assumed its final form? Are the foundations laid even there of a stable order? Why demand more of the South American States? Why attribute their anarchy to the abolition of negro slavery—for this is the cause assigned by Mr. Calhoun—when anarchy has shaken for centuries a continent never blessed with such slavery, or subject to the strife arising from the collision of inferior and superior races?

The argument contained in the second paragraph is another instance of the false philosophy of Mr. Calhoun. He knows of "no instance whatever of any civilized colored races being found equal to the establishment of free popular government;" and the inference implied is, that they never will be found equal to such a work. Now, we suppose, in making up an opinion, in the formation of which one consideration is the age of the world, some fifty years, more or less, should have no weight. Had Mr. Calhoun, then, lived seventy years ago, he might have extended his remark. He might have announced that, so far as he knew, no instance of the capacity of any race, white or colored, for self-government, or free popular institutions, had been recorded in history.* The Republics of Greece and Rome were not *free popular* Governments; the masses of the people had no part or lot in them, except suffering and oppression; but even the favored few in these sham Republics demonstrated their unfitness for free popular institutions, for their Governments were at last subverted by slavery, corruption, and intestine broils. As little could be said for the temporary Republics of Italy, and the show of free Government in Spain. And on thus surveying the history of the whole race, the conclusion that mankind were incapable of free popular government would have been just as philosophical as the conclusion of Mr. Calhoun now is, that the colored races are thus incapable, because history records no instance of a colored Republic. In this mode of reasoning Mr. Calhoun has been anticipated by the old enemies of the People in every age; and his philosophy, which he seems disposed to confine to the colored races, is the very philosophy extended to all races by the advocates of Despotism or Aristocracy in the old world. They all, with him, lack faith in Human Nature; contemn Progress; and overlook entirely the extraordinary influences of Education, and the meliorating agencies supplied by the gradually-unfolding Providence of God, and genius of man as manifested in great inventions and discoveries. A broader view and better logic would conduct to conclusions just the reverse of the favorite dogmas of this School of Despair. The history of our Union, thus far, and the reform movements in England and elsewhere, are all utterly at variance with their reasonings; and the time will soon come, if we have not misread the political aspects of the colored race in Hayti, the British West Indies, and Liberia, when even their restricted application to this race will be pronounced an absurdity.

The doctrines respecting different races of men, in so far as they would involve a forfeiture of rights in some, and sanction a Despotism in others, are inhuman and unchristian. Common Sense and Christianity recognise but one Humanity; with various aspects, but identical Rights—a Humanity, one in Origin, Duty, and Destiny; and the God, who is the Father of all men, frowns upon that insensate pride which leads one portion of his great Family to deny the rights of Brotherhood to the rest.

* The Jewish Republic was under the peculiar government of God.—*Ed. Era.*

For the National Era.

THE SLAVES OF MARTINIQUE.

[SUGGESTED BY A DAGUERREOTYPE FROM A FRENCH ENGRAVING.]

Beams of noon, like burning lances, through the tree tops flash and glisten,
As she stands before her lover, with raised face to look and listen.

Dark, but comely, like the maiden in the ancient Jewish song,
Scarcely has the toil of task-fields done her graceful beauty wrong.

He, the strong one and the manly, with the vassal's garb and hue,
Holding still his spirit's birthright, to his higher nature true.

Hiding deep the strengthening purpose of a freeman in his heart,
As the Greegree holds his Fetish from the white man's gaze apart.

Ever foremost of his comrades, when the driver's morning horn
Calls away to stifling mill-house, to the fields of cane and corn;

Fall the keen and burning lashes never on his back or limb;
Scarce with look or word of censure, turns the driver unto him.

Yet, his brow is always thoughtful, and his eye is hard and stern;
Slavery's last and humblest lesson, he has never deigned to learn.

And, at evening, when his comrades dance before their master's door,
Folding arms and knitting forehead, stands he silent evermore.

God be praised for every instinct which rebels against a lot
Where the brute survives the human, and man's upright form is not!

As the serpent-like bejuco winds its spiral, fold on fold,
Round the tall and stately ceiba, till it withers in its hold—

Slow decays the forest monarch, closer girds the fell embrace,
Till the tree is seen no longer, and the vine is in its place—

So a base and bestial nature, round the vassal's manhood twines,
And the spirit wastes beneath it, like the ceiba choked with vines

God is Love, saith the Evangel; and our world of woe and sin
Is made light and happy only when a Love is shining in.

Ye whose lives are free as sunshine, finding, wheresoe'r ye roam,
Smiles of welcome, looks of kindness, making all the world like home;

In the veins of whose affections, kindred blood is but a part
Of one kindly current throbbing from the universal heart;

Can ye know the deeper meaning of a love in Slavery nursed,
Last flower of a lost Eden, blooming in that soil accursed?

Love of home, and Love of Woman!—dear to all, but doubly dear
To the heart whose pulses elsewhere measure only hate and fear.

All around the desert circles underneath a brazen sky,
Only one green spot remaining where the dew is never dry!

From the horror of that desert, from its atmosphere of hell,
Turns the fainting spirit thither, as the diver seeks his bell.

'Tis the fervid tropic noontime; faint and low the sea-waves beat;
Hazy rise the inland mountains through the glimmer of the heat.

Where through ming'ed leaves and blossoms arrowy sunbeams flash and glisten,
Speaks her lover to the slave girl, and she lifts her head to listen.

"We shall live as slaves no longer! Freedom's hour is close at hand!
Rocks her bark upon the waters, rests its boat upon the strand!

"I have seen the Haytien captain; I have seen his swarthy crew,
Haters of the pallid faces, to their race and color true.

"They have sworn to wait our coming till the night has passed its noon,
And the grey and darkening waters roll above the sunken moon!"

Oh! the blessed hope of freedom! How with joy and glad surprise
For an instant throbs her bosom, for an instant beam her eyes!

But she looks across the valley, where her mother's hut is seen,
Through the snowy bloom of coffee, and the lemon leaves so green.

And she answers, sad and earnest: "It were wrong for thee to stay;
God hath heard thy prayer for freedom, and His finger points the way.

"Well I know with what endurance, for the sake of me and mine,
Thou hast borne too long a burden never meant for souls like thine.

"Go; and at the hour of midnight, when our last farewell is o'er,
Kneeling on our place of parting, I will bless thee from the shore.

"But for me, my mother, lying on her sick bed all the day,
Lifts her weary head to watch me coming through the twilight grey.

"Should I leave her sick and helpless, even freedom, shared with thee,
Would be sadder far than bondage, lonely toil, and stripes to me.

"For my heart would die within me, and my brain would soon be wild:
I should hear my mother calling through the twilight for her child!"

Blazing upward from the ocean, shines the sun of morning time,
Through the coffee trees in blossom, and green hedges of the lime.

Side by side, amidst the slave gang, toil the lover and the maid:
Wherefore looks he o'er the waters, leaning forward on his spade?

Sadly looks he, deeply sighs he: 'tis the Haytien's sail he sees,
Like a white cloud of the mountains, driven seaward by the breeze!

But his arm a light hand presses, and he hears a low voice call:
Hate of Slavery, hope of Freedom, Love is mightier than all!

J. G. W.

THE GOVERNORS.

The Democratic Governor of Alabama, and the Whig Governor of Kentucky, in their late annual messages, make no allusion to the Mexican war, or the question of slavery extension. The Whig Governor of New York and the Democratic Governor of Pennsylvania do not refer to the latter question, but talk of the glory of the victories achieved in the war, and sustain the claims for indemnity and security.

LITERARY NOTICES.

NAOMI; OR BOSTON TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO. By Mrs. E. B. LEE, author of the Life of Jean Paul. Boston: William Crosby and H. P. Nichols.

The scene of this story, as the title indicates, is laid in Boston as it was two hundred years ago. The incidents are real, and grew out of the strife between the Puritans and Quakers. "I have endeavored," says the author, "to preserve, as much as was in my power, an exact justice between the parties; to present the bigoted age, the limited views, the deep provocation, and the stern justice of our forefathers, in their dealings with the Quakers; while, on the other hand, I have not concealed the audacity, determined perseverance, and the spiritual pride of those illiterate Quaker women, who came to this country as much to gain notoriety, as from a sincere desire for martyrdom. That such was the case, in particular instances, in no degree impairs the simple and sublime truth of the 'inward light.'"

By the way, the "stern justice" which slaked itself in bloody persecution, was the fanaticism of bigotry. Mrs. Lee is a practiced writer, of a high order, and, in this volume, so far as we have been able to give it an examination, has managed her theme with great skill and effect, making all the incidents of the story subservient to the exhibition of character and principle. The opening chapters have interested us too much to allow us to lay aside the book without going through it.

It is for sale by Samuel Colman, at R. Farnham's, corner of Eleventh street and Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington.

RAINBOWS FOR CHILDREN. Edited by L. MARIA CHILD. New York: C. S. Francis. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington.

Mrs. Child, in her preface to this volume, wishes that the stories in it were written by herself. They would not discredit her. The author, who, it is rumored, is a young lady of Boston, has a wonderful comprehension of the tastes and capacities of children, although her stories are captivating to the children of "a larger growth." "Mature minds," says Mrs. Child, "will often perceive a wise significance within the poetic beauty of the style. Thus, in Fiamma, or the Vase of Golden Water, eye-sight is restored at home by first carrying a web of light all round the world!" So, too, Fiamma, after coursing round the world, all things helping her on her journey—whales, sea serpents, lions, and buffaloes, all giving her a lift—arrives on the borders of civilization, and runs to the railroad cars, but here she found a very different animal. "The conductor stared at her, and said he could not possibly give her a seat. She told him that lions, and sea-serpents, and buffaloes, had borne her on her way, and she thought he might at least be as good-natured as these wild beasts. But he refused, until a gentleman standing by offered to pay her fare."

A capital hit. The author understands the nature of corporations as well as of children.

PHONOGRAPHIC COMET, published monthly at Cincinnati, by E. Webster and F. G. Adams; price, one dollar per annum. A very neat pamphlet of twelve pages, printed by a new process, of Mr. Webster's own invention, little, if at all, inferior to copperplate, and decidedly superior to lithography. Every line, every dot, is perfectly distinct. A friend, who has for several years taken a deep interest in the Writing and Printing Reform, and who is a practical phonographer, assures us that the work is worthy of patronage.

Received the following new publications, to be noticed in our next paper.

THE PEOPLE'S JOURNAL. Edited by JOHN SANDERS. Published by John Bennett, London. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. December, 1847.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER AND RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY. January, 1848. Boston: William Crosby and H. P. Nichols.

SEARS'S NEW PICTORIAL MAGAZINE. January, 1848. New York: Robert Sears.

COLUMBIAN MAGAZINE. January, 1848. New York: John S. Taylor. Edited by JOHN INMAN and ROBERT A. WEST.

AMERICAN PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL. January, 1848. New York: Fowler & Wells.

EDINBURGH PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL AND MAGAZINE OF MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL SCIENCE Edited by GEORGE COMBE and ROBERT COXE. Republished by Fowler & Wells, New York. Brooke, Shillington, & Co., agents, Washington, D. C. Vol. 1, No. 1.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS. HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION, &c. By R. L. ALLEN. New York: C. M. Saxton.

GREEK TESTAMENT, AND ENGLISH NOTES. By Rev. J. A. SPENSER, A. M. New York: Harper & Brothers, publishers. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington.

CATALOGUES OF DICKINSON AND WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGES AND OF BALDWIN INSTITUTE.

A DISCOURSE ON THANKSGIVING DAY, in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, New York. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. New York: Cady & Burgess.

THIRTIETH CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

JANUARY 5.

SENATE.—The Vice President laid before the Senate a report of the receipts and disbursements of the Post Office for the year ending June 30, 1848.

Mr. Yulee presented a memorial from Mrs. Lassiter, in Florida, asking indemnity for a slave killed by the volunteer troops in the Seminole war. It was referred to the Committee on Claims.

The bill for raising ten additional regiments of regulars was taken up, when

Mr. Crittenden moved a substitute, authorizing volunteer instead of regular forces, and authorizing the President, if the exigencies of the war should require, to accept the service of thirty thousand volunteers.

On this amendment a long debate ensued, in which Messrs. Crittenden, Cass, Jefferson Davis, and Calhoun, participated.

Mr. Crittenden took occasion to enter into some calculations of the number of troops already in the field, which amounted to forty-three thousand. In addition to those, twelve thousand were to be raised under authority already given. This bill provided for ten thousand more, and still another bill provided for authorizing the President to accept twenty thousand volunteers. All these levies would raise the army to near ninety thousand troops. This was startling. What was the object designed to be accomplished? He made an estimate to show that, after garrisoning all the strong posts of Mexico in our possession, fifteen thousand men would yet be left for active service—an army powerful enough to march to any point in Mexico. With less force, General Scott had landed at Vera Cruz, and finally taken the city of Mexico. Where was the necessity of this force of ninety thousand men? The cost was enormous. He had been informed by good authority, that the average cost of officers and men was $1,000 per man. He took occasion in his speech to enlarge upon the "chivalry" of our soldiers, and the "glory" of their triumphs, and seemed willing to grant the President power to use all the means he deemed necessary to carry on the war.

General Cass said that it would require more force to hold a country, than make a successful inroad into it. As to the cost, he placed it at 279,000 dollars for each regiment of infantry, and 700,000 dollars for each regiment of dragoons. In this estimate, it is true, were not included the expenses of bounty lands, medical staff, and quartermaster's staff.

Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, preferred regulars, because they were cheaper, maintained better discipline, kept up a better police, were healthier, and therefore more effective in proportion to their numbers, for mere garrison duty. The high-bred gentlemen would submit to privation and discipline in view of a great battle, but not to the drudgery of camp duty at ordinary times. The enlistment of volunteers was at the expense of society—caused great suffering and loss, and the sundering of many precious ties. They were too good for common use. Men of a lower order of society, enlisted as regulars, would answer the purpose better. The object of the additional force was, not to fight battles, but prevent them; to hold towns now in our possession, and protect the well disposed. The resources of Mexico should support the army. In Zacatecas was the mint—in Potosi were the richest mines. We should claim the revenue which Mexico had been in the habit of extracting from mining operations. The great object now was, not to take the Federal Government under our protection, which would only render it odious, but to allow the ability yet remaining to establish an independent Federal Government on republican principles. The argument of the honorable Senator, which rests upon the supposition that Mexico is conquered, I hold to be by no means indisputable. Is Mexico conquered? Is any part of it conquered? Conquest, as laid down by some writers, is of three kinds. Ruin is one of these kinds of conquest; but we have not ruined Mexico, and God forbid we ever should! The moral feeling of this country would never justify such a course. Another mode of conquest is to hold a country by controlling its Government. That is not suited to the genius of our country. We send no proconsul abroad—no provincial army to direct the Government of the country. We recognise as the great basis of all institutions, self-government. The other mode of conquest is by colonizing a country. We cannot do that. In neither of these modes, then, have we conquered Mexico. We have not even suppressed the hostility of the Mexican people. I hazard the assertion that there is more hostility against us in Mexico now, than there was at the beginning of the war. Mexico is not conquered.

Mr. Calhoun deeply regretted that they could not settle first the mode of conducting the war. This business of war was a serious one. War created the means of its own continuance. It called into being mighty influences which were interested in carrying it on; and few nations ever terminated war so long as they possessed the means of carrying it on. A single regiment could not be raised without the creation of new interests in favor of the war.

He (Mr. C.) was glad to perceive that the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Davis) was not averse to a defensive line at the proper time. In view of that policy, he would prefer regulars to volunteers. He objected, though, to regulars, because that force gave greatly increased patronage and greatly added influence to the support of the war. He knew not how other gentlemen felt; but as for himself, he was convinced that the patronage of this Government had gone beyond all bounds, and had already exercised a most dangerous control over the deliberations of Congress. He felt the awkwardness of his position. He was utterly averse to pursuing this war for any view yet presented, even taking the strong view presented by the Senator from Mississippi. He put it to that gentleman—Was there any certainty of peace? and, if not, where would the country stand? That was the question. It would be in a position worse than ever. Every step they took only plunged them deeper and deeper into difficulty. If his memory served, the Secretary of the War Department stated 70,000 men as adequate to conquer and hold in subjection all Mexico. Was that not the view of the Secretary? He could not at the moment lay his hand on the Report of the War Department; but if he had not correctly stated the views of the Secretary, any Senator could set the matter right. The Secretary then disavowed the plan of entire subjugation. The Executive disavowed it; and yet a force, according to the Senator from Kentucky, of ninety or one hundred thousand men, was demanded.

The question was then taken by yeas and nays on Mr. Crittenden's amendment, which was rejected—yeas 19, nays 26. Mr. Calhoun did not vote.

After amending the bill so as to authorize the troops, provided, in the opinion of the President, the exigencies of the war require such a further increase of force, it was reported to the Senate, and ordered to be engrossed and read a third time.

The Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.—After the transaction of some unimportant business,

Mr. Botts called up the resolution relating to the transportation of the mail South. It authorizes the Postmaster General to make arrangement for the carriage of the mail by the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad and Steamboat Company, to pay it the highest price paid any other railroad, and no more, and to give to the contractors under the recent arrangement an equivalent for dissolving the contract with them.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, moved to amend, so as to require the Railroad and Steamboat Company to pay a fair equivalent to the other contractors, for the transference of the transportation from them.

Mr. Botts, of Virginia, proceeded to address the Committee, in opposition to the arrangements of the Postmaster General.

Mr. Lincoln, of Illinois, (a Whig member,) vigorously sustained the policy of the Department, and justified the construction it put upon the law. The transportation ought to be done on this railroad, but for *just* compensation. He had seen no reason assigned why the Company should demand more than the rates offered by the Department. This Company was dissatisfied with two hundred or two hundred and thirteen dollars per mile; but the daily steamboat transportation between Troy and New York was less than one hundred dollars per mile, and that between Cincinnati and Louisville was only twenty-eight dollars!

Mr. Root dissented from the report of the Committee, and found fault with the Postmaster General for higgling so long with the company about a small difference in price.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, got the floor, the Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

JANUARY 6.

SENATE.—Among the petitions offered to-day, was one by Mr. Corwin, from the Friends of New Garden, Pennsylvania, praying Congress to terminate the existing war with Mexico, and aid in establishing a tribunal for the settlement of difficulties among nations. Mr. Corwin moved that it be printed, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. There being opposition to its printing, it was simply referred.

Mr. Mason submitted a resolution to extend to the editors of the *Union* the privileges of the floor, allowed to other public printers. Laid over under the rule.

Mr. Dickinson announced that he would call up his resolutions on Monday.

Mr. Bradbury, from the committee appointed to inquire into the cause of the delay in the public printing, reported that the President's Message and accompanying documents last year formed 700 pages, and were laid upon the desks of members on the 6th of January, but this year they formed 1,300 pages, and would be submitted on the 15th instant.

The bill for raising ten additional regiments of regulars, coming up,

Mr. Hale addressed the Senate for more than an hour, in opposition, not only to this bill, but to the whole policy of granting supplies of men or money for the war.

Mr. Johnson obtained the floor; the Senate went into Executive session for a short time, and then adjourned.

HOUSE.—The subject of mail transportation was resumed in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, Mr. Murphy, of New York, and Mr. Meade, of Virginia, spoke in support of the course taken by the Postmaster General.

Mr. Charles Brown opposed the joint resolution.

Mr. Goggin supported the measure reported by him.

A time was fixed for the debate to close; but when it arrived, the Committee found themselves perplexed by a question of order under the new rules, and rose, so that the House might settle it. Without settling it, the House adjourned.

JANUARY 7.

SENATE did not sit to-day.

HOUSE.—Yesterday, the House having passed an order that all debate on the resolutions respecting the Southern mail should terminate at 2½ o'clock, in Committee of the Whole, when the hour arrived, the Chairman of the Committee said that, by one of the new rules of the House, the member who reported a measure was entitled to close the debate, occupying an hour in answering objections, &c.

This gave rise to a discussion on points of order, to settle which the House arose, but adjourned without coming to a decision. To-day, the debate on the question of order was resumed, and carried on for the greater part of the session with much animation. The question was, whether, under the rule entitling the member who introduced a bill to close the debate upon it, he could occupy his hour after the period fixed for the close of the debate by an order of the House. This question was at length decided in the affirmative.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole, and Mr. Goggin resumed his argument on the resolutions in relation to mail transportation, closing the debate.

The resolutions authorize the Postmaster General to put back the mail upon the old route.

By a vote of 80 to 65, they were amended, so as to require, as a condition, that the Railroad and Steamboat Company shall pay a fair equivalent to the contractors on the new route, for the withdrawal of the mail.

Several amendments offered were rejected or withdrawn. One moved by Mr. Hall was adopted, providing that nothing in the resolution should be so construed as to require any increase in the present expenditure of the Department.

A substitute offered by Mr. Meade, prescribing the terms of transportation, and directing the Postmaster General to have the mail transported on the old route, was rejected.

Mr. Goggin offered resolutions in favor of the terms demanded by the Company, but they were rejected—yeas 49, nays 107.

The Committee then rose, and reported the joint resolution as amended.

The House adjourned till Monday.

JANUARY 10.

SENATE.—Mr. Clayton presented a memorial from Friends, praying Congress to take measures to terminate the existing war with Mexico. The motion to print was referred to the Committee on Printing.

Several petitions on the subject of slavery were presented by Messrs. Felch and Cameron. The

motions to receive which, were laid upon the table.

Mr. Ashley reported, from the Committee on Public Lands, without amendment, a bill to establish a permanent pre-emption system.

Mr. Douglass, on leave, introduced a bill to establish a Territorial Government for Oregon, which was read twice and referred.

Mr. Hannegan offered the following resolutions, which he gave notice he would call up in two weeks from to-day:

"*Resolved*, That no treaty of peace can be made with Mexico, having a proper regard for the best interests of the United States, which does not establish, as a boundary between the two nations, the most suitable line for military defence.

"*Resolved*, That in no contingency can the United States consent to the establishment of a monarchical Government within the limits of Mexico, by the intervention of European Powers.

"*Resolved*, That it may become necessary and proper, as it is within the constitutional capacity of this Government, for the United States to hold Mexico as a territorial appendage, or in the condition of a province.

The Ten Regiment Bill was then taken up.

Mr. Reverdy Johnson addressed the Senate for nearly two hours, on the subject of the war, and He cannot say, his strength giving way, the Senate adjourned.

The questions proposed to be discussed by Mr. Johnson were, "Whether the war was just and honorable; whether it had been properly prosecuted; how it ought hereafter to be prosecuted; and what were the legitimate objects of the war."

He argued at great length, that the war was just and honorable in itself; that the United States had just cause for war against Mexico, on the 13th May, 1846, but that the war did exist by the act of Mexico, and that country, not this, was responsible for all the blood, and expenditure, and suffering, caused by the war. In support of this position, he next examined the remote causes of the war, which he stated were: The manner in which the President effected the annexation of Texas; and the failure to make the Mexican army cross to the Rio Grande. After elaborating these points he came to the broad conclusion, that on the President rested the responsibility for the expenditure of the blood spilt, the treasure wasted, and the suffering caused, by this war; that it was owing to his rash, ill-advised, unwarrantable acts.

HOUSE.—The resolution in regard to mail transportation by steam, which has been taken up the whole subject on the table was lost. The amendment providing that the railroad and steamboat company should pay the compensation to the present contractors, &c., was lost, by a tie vote. The amendment of Mr. Hall, providing that nothing in the resolution should be construed so as to authorize the abrogation of the contracts now in transportation, was adopted. The question being then on the engrossment of the resolution, it was lost without a division. So the matter was referred to let the Department manage its own affairs.

The House went into Committee of the Whole, on the reference of the President's message—the question being upon the amendment offered by Mr. Brodhead, for Mr. Vinton's resolutions.

Mr. McClernand, of Illinois, occupied an hour in the delivery of a speech in support of the war—the policy of the Administration, in reference to the tariff, the war, and to internal improvements, styling Mr. Polk a "model President."

He was followed by Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, who combated the peculiar doctrines of the President, in regard to internal improvements, but was in favor of the war, and opposed to any appropriations calculated to reduce our means of carrying it on.

Mr. Houston, of Delaware, obtained the floor, and the Committee rose.

On motion of Mr. Adams, the hall of the House was granted to the American Colonization Society, for a meeting, on the 18th instant.

The House adjourned.

JANUARY 11.

SENATE.—The business of the morning hour having been transacted, Mr. Johnson resumed his speech. He charged the President with having failed to prosecute the war vigorously—to use the power with which Congress had clothed him. He would have the war prosecuted with redoubled energy, in the very heart of Mexico. The withdrawal of the troops would be equivalent to giving the defensive line policy would be perpetual war. Were the war waged for conquest, or the annihilation of Mexico, he would not vote for a cent. But he did not believe that this He would wage it solely for indemnity and security. To the acquisition of territory, in itself, he was not opposed; but the forceful effect of the war upon between the free and slave States was the great consideration which weighed with him against acquiring territory. He referred to the speech of Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, and told him that he must permit him to say to him (Mr. Hale) that slavery was a subject which no Southern man would discuss on that floor.

A fuller report of Mr. Johnson's remarks on this point will be given next week.

A conversation ensuing on the hour he closed his speech, in which Messrs. Clayton, Cass, Crittenden, and Webster participated.

Mr. Clayton at length obtained the floor, and was proceeding with an elaborate speech, when his voice beginning to fail through hoarseness, the Senate adjourned, that he might continue his remarks under more favorable circumstances the next day.

HOUSE.—The debate was continued in the House, on the resolution to refer the President's message, by Messrs. Stewart, Venable, and Rockwell.

From Hostage's Report:

SPEECH OF MR. HALE ON THE TEN REGIMENT BILL.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 1848.

The bill to raise, for a limited time, an additional military force, was read a third time.

The question being on the passage of the bill.

Mr. HALE. Feeling compelled, from my convictions of duty, to take a course in relation to the pending bill in which I am aware very few Senators will entirely coincide, I have thought, humble as is the sphere in which I move, that it was due to those who placed me in the position I occupy, to let my vote upon the bill go out accompanied with the reasons which have induced me to take the course which I intend to take. I should have been glad if older and abler Senators had favored the Senate with their views in opposition to this bill. I would have been glad if the section of the Senate upon the bill had been delayed until the developments coming from the several Departments, and which we are well-nigh getting, had been placed before us, so that we might have had all the light that could be thrown upon that, which in my mind is a dark subject at the lightest; but seeing that the bill is likely to go through the forms of legislation, and knowing that I am not to throw the lights before us, I have thought it necessary to trespass briefly upon the time of the Senate, in order to explain to the views in which I entertain. It may be said that I do not stand much in need of light, because I have already declared that I stand here prepared to vote against the war in all its forms; against any money and any men, either troops, either regulars or volunteers, (and if there are any other kinds,) for against them,) because I stand

THE NATIONAL ERA.

SKETCHES AND ESSAYS.

For the National Era.

THE TEMPTATION.

BY MRS. EMMA D. E. SOUTHWORTH.

(CONTINUED.)

THE YOUNG WIFE.

How soon was the sweet dream of Sybil broken! How soon the beautiful illusion of Sybil dispelled! How soon "the veiled prophet" of her idolatry forth in the hideous deformity! A few months after their marriage, Harold Middleton began to absent himself from his young wife all day, and sometimes all night. The playful and loving postulations of Sybil were kindly taken at first, and explanations, which she received with confiding affection, were given of his absence. But even this disguise was at last thrown off.

About twelve months after her marriage, Sybil was sitting reading with her grandmother, in their little parlor. Earlier than usual, the old lady complained of fatigue and drowsiness, and retired to rest. Sybil did not seek her chamber, but, dismissing Broom to her supper, refreshments, and sending Katy to her chamber for his dressing-gown and slippers, she drew her chair to the fire, to await the coming of her husband. She could not read, she had her book down, her very face breathed joy. Sybil had ascertained that she would become a mother, and, with the exulting pride of a young wife, she wished to make her husband a sharer of her joy. Long did Sybil wait, but not impatiently, for her face was still beaming with gentle happiness, when she sound the name of Harold Middleton in the impatient rap at the door, caused her to start joyfully up, and go to open it herself, exclaiming, as she met his embrace—

"Oh! dear Harold, how glad I am that you have come at last! I have been waiting so long for you!"

Repulsing her offered caress, he said, sternly and angrily—

"I have before this intimated my desire that you should cease to rest as you were in the habit of sitting up for me, Mrs. Middleton. Do not give me occasion to repeat the injunction."

A woman of more spirit would have resented this; a woman of less sensibility would have felt it. Poor Sybil, from the very manner of her education, as well as from her native temperament, was the victim of a morbid sensibility. This was the first occasion upon which Middleton had spoken unkindly to her, and she felt it deeply. Pale and trembling, she sank into her seat; Middleton threw himself upon the sofa, and coffee grew cold, the oysters became turbid in their liquor, the candles burned low, the fire died out, and Sybil's sensibilities remained silent. Silent tears were stealing down her cheeks. This seemed rather to harden the heart of her husband, who now said, sternly—

"This mode of conduct looks very like a wilful disregard of my wishes, Mrs. Middleton. Perhaps they were not explained with sufficient clearness?"

Sybil started as the first angry tones of his voice fell upon her ears, looking into his face with an expression of distressing inquiry, and needing nothing there but a frown or anger, she arose from her seat, and, taking her night-lamp, was about to leave the room. Seeming to take a second thought, she then and there, as she turned back, and, setting down her lamp, approached her husband, and, putting her arms around his neck and pressing her lips upon his brow, she murmured—

"Do not be angry with me, dear Harold. I will not stay up for you another time, if you will love me now."

This caress was received in sullen silence, and not returned. The gentle words of Sybil remained unnoticed. Unclasping her arms, after a few moments, she withdrew to her chamber, sadness was stealing to her heart